1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

passed, and so drove them forward over the bank into the enclosure. After horses were secured, the buffalo were generally run down. It is said that a buffalo shot with an arrow fell to the other side, never breaking the arrow by falling upon it. 224

The meat of an entire buffalo would be carried on a horse. It was cut in small pieces, which were tied to the ends of strips of the skin and then slung over the horse's back so as to balance. If necessary, the hunter would mount above. It is said that sometimes as many as four deer were carried on one horse. [492]

When a buffalo was killed, half the skin was sometimes stitched or tied into a sack, the meat put into it, and the bundle dragged home by a rope around the shoulders of a person. In other cases the meat would be tied into bundles and carried home on the shoulders. The buffalo were usually cut up by men. Women were said to have taken part in this work when luck was unusually good and many buffalo had been killed. After a man had brought home meat, the women cut it into thin slices, which were hung on racks to dry. The dried meat was either packed in parfleches, or pounded fine and made into pemmican by mixture with berries. Meat, whether fresh or dried, was usually eaten after having been boiled in water; but when one was hungry or in haste a piece would be put on a stick and turned over the fire. [482] [251] [252]

Traps for foxes and other animals, even bears, were constructed by making an enclosure, over the opening of which a heavy log, sliding between four sticks to keep it in place, was supported on a single slender upright stick resting on another stick attached to the bait. Other logs might be leaned against the first one to give it additional weight.

Birds such as sage-hens, ducks, and geese, were formerly not hunted extensively. The eggs, however, formed favorite food. When a camp was pitched near a lake, the young men would strip and go out into the water looking for duck-eggs. Fish were not caught except by children, for amusement. 223 [226]

When a camp was broken, small brush tents with windows of grass were built. Fat and meat were strewed about the place and a man entered the ambush before daylight. He could look and shoot through the grass, but he could not be seen inside. Birds as large as eagles were secured in this way.

Crows and magpies were caught with sinew snares attached to a willow hoop. Meat was laid in the middle of the hoop. Walking about inside of this, the birds caught their feet in the snares and were unable to fly away.

Gophers were caught by means of a horsehair loop fastened to the end of a rope and laid around a gopher-hole. A person lay down, and when the gopher raised its head he jerked the rope. 224

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

726 626 latter and raise his leg in imitation of a urinating dog. All would know then on whom Eater's displeasure had fallen, and the young man in question would break down and sob. That would cure him of laziness."

726 318 Among the important duties on a war party were those of the water-carrier. If the mission were to be performed under more than ordinarily dangerous circumstances, young men might volunteer for the job, but usually the leader chose someone for it. A water-carrier had to have courage and resourcefulness because in order to fetch water it might be necessary that he be sent long distances without guard, and then have to catch up with the group in case the rest had to move. When the members of the party sighted the water-carrier returning successfully bearing the skin water-container attached to a pole, a song was sung by the war party as they marked time by beating two sticks together.[3]

[482] [534] [533]

726 Scouting was another important aspect of a war party. The leader selected two well-qualified men for this job. "They had to have courage and endurance for, while scouting, they would run instead of walk and not eat until their mission was completed." Scouts were called "wolves" and wore wolf-skins as insignia and sometimes, at least, would stick brush on their heads so they could not be so easily spotted against the horizon.[3] They went to high places to look around. If the enemy were not in sight, they might sing, making up words to the tune mentioned as having been sung before the party left camp.[4]

[714] [533]

If the scouts saw indications of the enemy, such as smoke rising from a coulee, but without actually seeing the enemy sufficiently clearly to identify them, on their return to the party they gave a wolf howl as they approached and proceeded in a sharp zigzag path. If, however, they had more definite information, they gave the wolf howl and approached in a circular path; that is, advanced, turned in a circle, advanced again, turned in a circle, advanced again, turned in a circle and halted. They were then met by two older men who had been successful scouts in their day. While the scouts were approaching—occasionally looking back over their

[533]

[3] Recorded as No. 130.
[3] For illustrations, see Curtis, v. 5, p. 176.
[4] Samples of this kind of song were recorded as No. 23 and No. 24.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

The keeper knew Lame Bull had only three wives and when he saw that two had gotten away and that the third and last was coming out, he said: 'Be sure to get this one. She is the last.' She was the youngest of the three, the mother of The Boy. Somebody did seize her. 793

"Then the members of the crowd pulled out all the picket pins and grabbed everything they could find. But they did not get everything belonging to Lame Bull and his wives, for the brother of the oldest wife had stolen into the crowd in order to protect his sister's property, and he was a good fighter, a man to be reckoned with. When the crowd started raiding, he threw the people right and left, fighting, hitting and pushing them, and so saved his sister's bed and some of her things.

"The crowd had gotten one of Lame Bull's wives but could not find him, and were undecided what to do. They finally agreed to take Lame Bull's wife back with them. They put a robe down and said to her: 'Sit on this. We are going to carry you back on that robe.' But when they lifted her up and put her on it she jumped off, saying: 'I don't want to be carried. I would rather walk.' One of the men, a cousin of hers, said: 'Get on to it, or else we will whip you.' So she got on it and they carried her over (to the keeper's lodge, apparently). When they arrived there they all sat down and took their places just as if Lame Bull were there, with the wife seated next to the keeper's wife. [482]

"Then the ex-keeper, who had transferred the Pipe to the keeper from whom Lame Bull had just run, said, 'I will try to call my friend (Lame Bull). Maybe he does not want to be keeper.' So the keeper gave his place to this ex-keeper who then started to perform the rite for summoning unwilling persons.

"All this time Lame Bull was hiding up in the mountains, and it so happened that his horses were grazing nearby. As he looked at them he was more than ever determined never to become a keeper, for he did not want to give his horses away as he would have to do as keeper. So while he was listening to the singing and rattling of the rite, he said to himself: 'Sing all you want. I'll never go down there.'

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

their fellows, there were many other ones that fulfilled the same function. Of these latter, some, more distinctively ritual, will be dealt with later passim under "Flat Pipe Ritual"; others, more secular, may be mentioned now.

The keeper and co-keeper were not supposed to carry a pack on their own backs, except that on the march the Pipe bundle might be packed by the co-keeper.

They could not mount and dismount a horse on the same side, but mounted from the right side and dismounted from the left.

If you handed something to the keeper it became his property, and if he handed something to you it became yours. If you thoughtlessly left anything with the keeper or co-keeper to keep for you, —if, for instance, you said: "Here, hold my horse (or my gun)," —the object became the property of the keeper or co-keeper and could not be gotten back. The keeper and co-keeper never loaned their robes, dresses, moccasins or other belongings, unless asked, and they were not supposed to be asked to loan. If you thoughtlessly broke the code and asked to borrow something from them, they were obliged to give it to you to own.

Neither the keeper nor co-keeper was allowed to handle ashes, nor could the Pipe bundle remain in the keeper's lodge when ashes were taken out. Were this rule violated, the keeper or co-keeper or both would lose eyesight. When ashes were to be removed from the keeper's lodge, the Pipe bundle was taken outside the lodge by the co-keeper, and both the keeper and the co-keeper stayed outside, while another of the keeper's wives removed the ashes.

When a group of men were seated in a crescent or near-circle enjoying a purely social smoke together, each took a puff from the lighted pipe and passed it clockwise to the man on his left until it reached the end of the line. Then the pipe would be passed back anti-clockwise from hand to hand to the other end without anyone puffing from it. But if the keeper were in the group, he could take a puff not only when the pipe was passing him clockwise but also on its anti-clockwise return. The man passing the pipe to the keeper from either left or right had to raise it upward a little toward his own right before doing so. The first time the pipe reached the keeper, he would take a big puff, and point

The ridge willow was painted all black with charcoal. Each of the other 30 lateral willows was painted black around its whole circumference just at the point where the upright section began to bend or arch. This "painting" was done by grasping the willow at this point with the blacked palm. Each willow was also painted black at the very top where the arched willows met, this painting being done by simultaneously grasping each two willows at the top. The whole framework was covered with robes when the sweating was about to take place.

Inside the sweat-lodge at about its centre, was dug a pit, about 2 feet square by about 15-16 inches deep, as a deposit hearth for the heated rocks. Around the four sides of the square pit at near ground level there was a beveled groove of earth, with the bevel slanting outward and downward from the edge of the pit. The surfaces of the bevel and the bottom of the pit were covered with powdered charcoal.

From near the two corners of the eastern beveling to the two first willows flanking the main entrance, the ground space was cleared of grass and smoothed even, and this space was covered with powdered charcoal.

Sage brush was laid around the inside of the sweat-lodge next to the wall.

At three spots on the east-west axis of the sweat-lodge,—on the surface of the west bevel, on the bottom of the pit at its centre, and just doorward of the east bevel on the cleared charcoaled space,—incense places, pi-shaped with the open side toward the east, were made with powdered red paint.

Near to and east of the main entrance on a line with the east-west axis of the lodge were the hearth and fire for heating the rocks. Still farther removed, about 25 feet from the main entrance and on the same axis, was the pipe mound, circular in ground plan, about 2 feet in diameter more or less conical in shape, made with the earth that had been taken out to form the sweat-lodge pit. The dirt so dug out had to be carried, not in the hands, but on a choice piece of buffalo hide with the fur on. The ordinary pipe (not the Flat Pipe), used to pray and smoke with in the sweating ritual, was placed on the west slope of this mound, with stem up

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

kidneys and ribs offered as "coverings" after a hunt were left all day on the bundle and late in the evening given to some of the very poor children to eat.

Moving, carrying and handling the Flat Pipe bundle in camp and on the march were the exclusive responsibility and privilege of the Flat Pipe co-keeper. Whenever the bundle was to be transferred from its tripod to its bed or vice versa, to be hung up over the door of the keeper's lodge, to be carried to and from the sweat lodge or Sacrifice Dance, or to be transported from camp site to camp site, she was the one to do it.

Exceptions to the rule, in emergency, were rare. One such exceptional instance was reported by Coming Daylight. On one occasion the Flat Pipe bundle was still outside the keeper's lodge when darkness set in, and both the keeper and co-keeper were away. In such a case an ex-co-keeper would usually substitute for the co-keeper, but there was none around. It was not customary to leave the Pipe out at night, or even to leave it alone. So Coming Daylight's maternal aunt said to her: "We will put this poor thing [the Pipe] in. Your father once owned a pipe [not the Flat Pipe], so you should not be afraid to handle it." So the two went out and gathering sage rubbed themselves all over with it. Then together they unloosed the bundle and started to carry it in, all the time praying: "We are children of an ex-keeper and this is just the same as if our fathers owned this Pipe. We have the right to handle it. We hate to see you stay out over night. It would be bad if you stayed out. We are bringing you in because we pity you. We hope you will have pity on us, and that we will have long life." And Coming Daylight, about 86 years old in 1940, ended her account by remarking that her prayer was heard because she had lived so long, even though in these last years her legs were unsteady and every little while she fell down on her buttocks!

Coming Daylight also mentioned one other old woman, Mouse, who, although not the co-keeper, used to volunteer to carry the Pipe bundle on her back when the people were on the march from camp site to camp site. This was apparently at a period when horses were very scarce, only one or two to several families, and dog travois had to be resorted to.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

482 778 dog travois had to be resorted to. The old woman thought that she was doing the Pipe a great favor and that her packing it would bring her good fortune.

The co-keeper when afoot and carrying the Pipe bundle in her arms held it under her left armpit with her left arm encircling it and her right arm and hand supporting it from beneath, and with the stem-end of the bundle pointing forward.

482 778 783 The co-keeper was usually very careful to observe the stem-end-forward rule. But if through forgetfulness or absent-mindedness she had carried the bundle bowl-end forward or had hung it on its tripod with the bowl end to the east, she would be to blame. The keeper, co-keeper or Pipe child would be told by the Pipe in a dream about the error while sleeping [that night] on the Pipe bed, and she would have to be ritually cleansed. The keeper and co-keeper would sit on their haunches on the Pipe bed facing each other, he facing east and she west. Peppermint was put on the incense hearth to make a smudge. The keeper then took a bunch of sage brush, some of which he usually kept ready, held it up in his right hand, and prayed to the Supreme Being to release his wife, to take away her mistake, and not to be angry over it. Then he lowered the large brush by three stages, circled it three times around the incense, and "sort of brushed" her with it three times from her head down her right arm and from her head down her left arm, and three times from her chin up over her face to her occiput. Then he laid down the bunch of sage brush between the incense hearth and south edge of the Pipe bed, and said to his wife: "Take this sage brush out." She took it, walked out with it clockwise, turned to her left, that is, in the east, walked a good way off, and lowering it in the usual three stages deposited reverently on the ground.

778 788 Grasping and depositing the Flat Pipe bundle were regularly done by the co-keeper in a ritually prescribed manner. Before actually taking hold of it, she would face it, and three times pose at shoulder height her empty right hand, palm down with fingertips joined and pointing away from her, make a motion or pass with her hand toward the bundle while at the same time spitting a bit of chewed peppermint on it, and then bring her hand back to

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

position. In depositing the bundle on its bed, she would lower it gently in three stages, spitting at each one.

When the people were staying for any length of time at a given camp site, the Flat Pipe bundle, which was always kept inside the keeper's lodge during the night time, would regularly in good weather be taken out early in the morning at breakfast time by the co-keeper, with the customary grasping and carrying ritual, and hung up, stem-end pointing east just over the door of the keeper's lodge, not on its tripod. The outside of the keeper's lodge around the door up to full reaching height, about 6 or 7 feet, was painted red. The thong handle of the bundle was looped over, the two projecting ends of a stout pin, skewered horizontally in the tent cover, on the immediate line above the door at the upper edge of the red-painted area.

The bundle would hang over the door all day until about sundown when it would be brought back into the lodge for the night. In bringing it back, the co-keeper walked out of the lodge, unhooked and grasped the bundle, turned clockwise, walked all around the lodge clockwise, entered the lodge, proceeded clockwise to the incense hearth, dipped the stem end of the bundle three times in the smudge, and deposited the bundle in the usual ritual manner, as above described, at the far north end of the Pipe bed.

The final decision as to when and whether the camp, in which the Flat Pipe chanced to be, was to be moved was made by the head man especially the band chiefs and in the olden days the tribal chief too, the keepers having perhaps taken the initiative in calling them together. They would notify the Pipe keeper. Early the next morning the co-keeper with the usual ritual observances would take the Pipe bundle from its bed and carry it and its tripod outside the lodge a little to the north thereof, set up the tripod and hang the bundle on it. The tripod would be set up with two of its legs closer together, and with the third leg stretched out farther, its upper end projecting a little beyond the junction of the three legs. On this projecting end the bundle was hung by the thong handle looped over the end. On other occasions the bundle was hung on the tripod stem-end pointing east. But on this occasion the rule was superseded by another, namely, the third leg

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

778 had to point in the direction in which the camp was to move. This orientation could be discerned from a considerable distance. The people would already know that camp was to be broken that day and early in the morning would go out to see how the bundle hung and which direction the third leg of the tripod was pointing.

778 When the camp families were packed and all ready to start off, the Flat Pipe's own special horse was led up to the tripod where 492 the bundle hung. The co-keeper, before taking hold of the bundle 484 made the customary three passes at it spitting chewed peppermint at the bundle with each pass, lifted it off the tripod, turned around clockwise, made three motions with the bundle, stem-end forward, as if putting it on the saddle (note saddle of Flat Pipe in Plate 2A), and at the third actually put it there where it rested crosswise, held taut with thongs to both sides of the saddle and under the horse's belly. Then she mounted from the right side her own horse, and started off leading the horse that carried the Pipe bundle, the latter horse coming behind her own, not abreast.

● 482 Sometimes the co-keeper, *ad libertum*, would carry the bundle herself on her own back, putting it on her back before mounting her horse and carrying the bundle with the thong handle resting over her upper arm just below the bend of the shoulder and the bundle itself at her back. To help her mount so burdened they would lead her to a side hill. The Boy's mother, when co-keeper, at times on the march used to say that the bundle so carried felt heavy at the start, but after a while felt light. When the co-keeper so carried the bundle, leading the Pipe's own horse, she followed the keeper. Occasionally the Pipe bundle was carried on a travois, but we obtained no details on this point.

484 On the march, while scouts were not uncommonly sent out ahead to find the best route or watch for enemies, the co-keeper with 778 the Pipe bundle led the cavalcade itself. No one could go in front of her: if any one did, bad luck would befall him. If both the Flat and Feathered Pipes were with the caravan, the Flat Pipe was in the lead, next the Feathered Pipe, then the chief or chiefs, finally the body of the group. The keepers rode immediately behind the respective co-keepers, never before. If the caravan were on the way to one celebration or a Sacred Dance, the group giv-